601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. *Cf.* Mongol *qadum, qadam;* Ordos *khadam.*

k'adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Mongol *egeci,* Ordos *egetshi. K'adzi diu,* elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. *Cf.* Mongol *qola,* Ordos *kholo.*

k'ū: son, boy. *Cf.* Mongol *köbegün,* Ordos *k'ū.*

k'urgen: son-in-law. *Cf.* Mongol *kürgen,* Ordos *k'urgen.*

mula: little, younger, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *miltagar,* flattened.

nagē: maternal uncle. *Cf.* Mongol *nagai,* Ordos *nagä.*

ndāni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *yeke,* Ordos *ikhe.*

sundze (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. *Cf.* Chinese *sun-tze.*[1a]

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.[1] The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

[1a] For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols,* Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8, Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 85-6]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 is the grandmother who makes the distribution, each nuclear family receiving its proper share. When a mother goes on a visit to her own parents in a different village, it is customary for her to take her children with her, and thus they come to know the parents of their mother, and her maternal uncle, very well.

ADOPTION

597 The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family. Its importance in this respect is well exemplified when a childless couple want to adopt a child. The custom is to adopt, if possible, the son of one of the brothers of the husband, who is already a classificatory son and bears by right of birth the same clan name. If this is impossible, the next step is to seek a more remotely related classificatory son from a more distant branch of the husband's family, who, though not so closely related, does have the clan name and a male ancestor in common with his adoptive father. Only if no child of the same blood on the father's side is available is a child of different clan ancestry adopted. I once attended a ceremony of adoption in a case of this kind. The child was a Chinese boy being adopted by a Monguor named Kan 75—Kan being his clan name and 75 his personal name, given to him according to a common custom, because that was the age of his grandmother at the time he was born.[2] The child being adopted was a boy of five or six from a poor Chinese family named Liu, which had several boys and was on intimate terms with the family of Kan 75.

A sheep was killed for the ceremony. Those invited included the maternal uncle of Kan 75, one of his classificatory grandfathers, one of his own brothers, the chief of the village, a Chinese scribe, and myself. The boy was brought by his father, just before noon, and was clothed in rags. He was first taken to the kitchen, where he was washed, his hair combed, and he was fitted out with brand new clothes, boots, and hat. While this was being done, the Chinese scribe wrote a contract in two copies, attesting the fact that the boy was being freely given by the Liu family to be adopted by the Kan family. The contract was signed not only by the boy's father and the adopting father, but by the adopting father's maternal uncle, grandfather, brother, and the chief of the village.

The boy was then brought out and prostrated himself, making the *k'o-t'ou* nine times first to his new maternal uncle, then to his new classificatory great-grandfather, then to his new father and mother, then to his new father's brothers, including classificatory brothers.

The new father then asked his grandfather to give the boy a new and propitious name. The boy knelt

[2] A comparable custom is known in Outer Mongolia. The father of the Dilowa Hutukhtu was called 86—using, moreover, the Chinese, Bashiliu, not the Mongol, Nayanjurgan—because he was born when his father was 86. *Autobiography*, unpublished, of the Dilowa Hutukhtu.—O. L.

[P. 86a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

512 462 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 233 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 241 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 294 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 462 593 606 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 462 592 606 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.

562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

HM 583 /70 cont'd/

apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M 585 Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M [603 604] Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called Shödzin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181 THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dë thurðŋ thorguë šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ñiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

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563
194
[195] preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form.
[596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members'
[241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture
[438] goes hand in hand in trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S
563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct.
S
[241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never
[233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays
[144] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle
S
[422] owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows,
S
[592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

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[233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly
S
[614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy
S
[192] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The
[422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N
563 The Monguors:

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233 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and
241 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect,
198 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest
[177] that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the
N
563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as
M
231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows,
[554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N
563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the
M
596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally
[603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy
[421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N
663 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain
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614 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a
622 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the
177 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he
178 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561]

of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574]

It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

i. Celebrations and festivals

N *563 M 614 796

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852]

Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178

The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178

During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794]

Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587

A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867

Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603

According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553] The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [886] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [191] [199] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 709 989 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.